

## Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT MADRID 575 ACTION SECSTATE 25 JAN

QUOTE

UNCLAS MADRID 0575

FOR S/PRS

DEPAT PASS NSC AND WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

HEREWITH TRANSMITTING TRANSCRIPTION OF KISSINGER/AREILZA  
PRESS CONFERENCE AT MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HELD AT 6:15:

OPENING REMARKS OF MFA JOSE MARIA DE AREILZA

BEGIN TEXT.

"ONLY A FEW MOMENTS AGO, MR. KISSINGER, SECRETARY OF STATE  
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND MYSELF, SIGNED A TREATY  
OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND  
SPAIN.

"I THINK IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR US TO CONSIDER THIS  
TREATY AS A CAPITAL STEP ALONG THE WAY OF A NEW FORMAL CO-  
OPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. THEN, I BELIEVE THAT  
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THIS IS CAPITAL NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT INAUGURATES THE  
COMING OF A NEW ERA TO OUR RELATIONS, BUT ALSO, BECAUSE IN  
THE 200 YEARS SINCE ITS INDEPENDENCE, THE UNITED STATES  
HAVE ONLY SIGNED SIX TREATIES. THIS IS NOW THE SEVENTH,

AND I BELIEVE, THIS IS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT OF ALL. I BELIEVE, ALSO, THAT THIS TREATY IS SIGNIFICANT IN THE SENSE THAT THE TIME OF ISOLATION IS OVER. I BELIEVE THAT IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY FOR ALL COUNTRIES TO BECOME LINKED WITH THE REMAINING MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND I THINK THAT IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN THE TIES THAT LINK COUNTRIES TO THE UTMOST BOTH IN THE FORMAL ASPECTS AND AS REGARDS CONTACTS. THIS, I THINK, HAS BEEN THE OBJECT WHICH WE HAVE FINALLY ACHIEVED AFTER SO MANY MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS.

"I THINK THIS TREATY IS ALSO IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT UNDERLINES THE TRUE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS WHICH, IN MY MIND, ARE PREVALENT IN THE RELATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. ALONGSIDE, I THINK IT UNDERLINES THE WILL OF THE JOINT PURSUIT OF COOPERATION, AND IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE DEFENSE OF THE VALUES WHICH ARE COMMON TO US, AND ALSO BECAUSE IT REFLECTS THE BALANCE WHICH HAS FINALLY BEEN ACHIEVED.

"NOW LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I WOULD FINALLY LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR PRESENCE IN THIS HISTORICAL PALACE OF SANTA CRUZ AND TO WELCOME MR. KISSINGER TO THIS HOUSE, ONCE AGAIN.

"MR. KISSINGER, AFTER THIS SHORT STATEMENT ON MY PART, WILL MAKE ANOTHER STATEMENT AFTER WHICH THERE WILL BE TIME FOR ALL OF YOU TO POSE AS MANY QUESTIONS AS YOU WANT, BOTH TO MR. KISSINGER AND TO MYSELF. I MUST, HOWEVER, UNDERLINE ONE THING. DUE TO THE VERY TIGHT SCHEDULE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, IT WILL BECOME NECESSARY AT A GIVEN MOMENT TO PUT AN END TO THIS PRESS CONFERENCE AND I WILL INDICATE WHEN THE END IS NEAR SO YOU CAN SEE THAT THE QUESTIONS ARE FINALLY GOING TO BE THE LAST ONES.

THANK YOU." END TEXT

OPENING REMARKS OF SECSTATE HAK  
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BEGIN TEXT:

"MR. MINISTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

"THE UNITED STATES IS VERY PLEASED BY THE COMPLETION OF THESE IMPORTANT NEGOTIATIONS TODAY THROUGH THE SIGNATURES WHICH THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND I HAVE JUST PLACED ON THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

"I REGARD THE COMPLETION OF THIS TREATY AS AN EVENT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. THE TREATY COVERS A WIDE RANGE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. IT DOES NOT RELATE TO

DEFENSE MATTERS ONLY BUT RATHER THE TOTALITY OF OUR RELATIONS IN MANY DIVERSE FIELDS. IT REFLECTS THE STRONG DESIRE OF BOTH COUNTRIES FOR A CLOSER FRIENDSHIP AND A WIDER AND MORE ENRICHED COOPERATION. FOR ITS PART, THE UNITED STATES WILL PURSUE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE TREATY WITH GREAT EARNESTNESS.

"TODAY'S EVENT COMES AT A MOMENT WHEN SPAIN IS UNDERGOING THE EXCITEMENT, THE INSPIRATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF A NEW ERA. IT IS MY HOPE THAT THIS TREATY WILL BE SEEN AS A CLEAR SIGN OF OUR MORAL SUPPORT FOR SPAIN AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME. THIS COUNTRY FACES THE DELICATE TASK OF STRIKING A BALANCE BETWEEN EVOLUTION AND STABILITY AS IT MOVES FORWARD ON THE NEW COURSE WHICH IS BEING CHARTED. I HAVE THE GREATEST CONFIDENCE THAT THE PROUD AND DYNAMIC PEOPLE OF SPAIN WILL SUCCESSFULLY MEET THE TASKS WHICH LIE AHEAD AND THAT SPAIN WILL INCREASINGLY ENTER THE MAINSTREAM OF THOSE VALUES WHICH LINK THE WESTERN WORLD IN A COMMON CAUSE.

"IT IS MY CONVICTION THAT THIS TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WILL GIVE ADDED STRENGTH TO OUR HISTORIC BILATERAL TIES AND WILL ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEEPENING OF SPAIN'S ROLE IN WESTERN EUROPE.

"SPAIN CAN BE SURE THAT IN THE UNITED STATES SHE HAS A CLOSE FRIEND AND CONFIDENT SUPPORTER." END TEXT.

BEGIN "Q" AND "A"

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Q. MR. SECRETARY, WHEN DO YOU EXPECT NATO WILL BE READY TO ACCEPT SPAIN AS A MEMBER?

A. BEFORE I ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS, I WOULD LIKE TO TELL THE FOREIGN MINISTER, THAT IN THE SPLENDID SPANISH HOSPITALITY THAT WE HAVE EXPERIENCED HERE, I MUST ONLY DEPLORE THAT OUR CORRESPONDENTS THAT TRAVEL WITH ME MUST NOW INSIST THAT PRESS CONFERENCES IN WASHINGTON BE HELD IN A HALL OF SIMILAR DIGNITY AND OF SIMILAR ARTISTIC VALUE. AFTER 400 YEARS MORE OF HISTORY WE MAY FIND SUCH A HALL THAT THE PRIVILEGE OF TOWERING OVER OUR CORRESPONDENTS IS ONE THAT IS WELL WORTH WAITING FOR. THE UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED AND WILL, OF COURSE, INCREASINGLY SUPPORT THE PARTICIPATION OF SPAIN IN NATO. THE RAPIDITY WITH WHICH THIS OBJECTIVE CAN BE ACHIEVED DEPENDS IN PART UPON THE EVOLUTION THAT I HAVE DESCRIBED IN MY STATEMENT AND IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES WILL GIVE SYMPATHETIC ENCOURAGEMENT.

Q. WHY IS THIS AGREEMENT, WHICH ALWAYS HAS BEEN AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT IN THE PAST, NOW IS IN A TREATY FORM?

A. THIS TREATY IN TERMS OF SUBJECT MATTERS IS OF WIDER SCOPE AND GREATER FORMALITY THAN THE PREVIOUS EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS

AND IT THEREFORE SYMBOLIZES THE FIRMNESS WITH WHICH WE CONSIDER THESE TIES. AND WE BELIEVE, ALSO, THAT THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH SHOULD BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO REFLECT THIS FORMALITY IN THE MORE SOLEMN FORM OF TREATY RATIFICATION WHICH OUR CONSTITUTION PROVIDES.

Q. WILL THE UNITED STATES HAVE THE RIGHT TO USE THE BASES HERE IN THE EVENT OF HOSTILITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

A. WE HAVE NOT, IN NEGOTIATING THIS TREATY, SPELLED OUT PARTICULAR CONTINGENCIES IN WHICH THESE BASES CAN BE USED NOR HAVE WE NEGOTIATED PARTICULAR RESTRICTIONS. THEREFORE THIS IS NOT A MATTER WHICH IS RIPE FOR DISCUSSION TODAY.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DURING YOUR STAY IN BRUSSELS, HAVE YOU HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH YOUR COLLEAGUES IN THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL THE CONTENT OF THIS TREATY, AND IF SO, WHAT HAS BEEN UNCLASSIFIED

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THE REACTION OF YOUR ALLIES REGARDING POSSIBLE SPANISH PARTICIPATION IN THEIR EFFORTS?

A. ON THIS OCCASION THE PURPOSE OF MY VISIT TO BRUSSELS WAS TO BRIEF MY COLLEAGUES ABOUT MY VISIT TO MOSCOW AND NOT PRIMARILY TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF SPAIN'S PARTICIPATION IN NATO. WE HAVE INFORMED OUR ALLIES AT VARIOUS STAGES OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS AND WE HAVE ALSO INFORMED THEM OF THE FINAL CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY, BUT WE HAVE NOT HAD A FORMAL DISCUSSION ABOUT SPAIN'S PARTICIPATION SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THIS TREATY.

Q. ONCE THE TREATY IS RATIFIED, WHAT WILL BE THE DIFFERENCE IN PRACTICE BETWEEN THE U.S. RESPONSE TO AN ATTACK ON SPAIN AND THE U.S. RESPONSE TO AN ATTACK ON A NATO ALLY?

A. THE AMERICAN REACTION TO AN ATTACK ON A FRIENDLY COUNTRY ALWAYS HAS TWO COMPONENTS: A LEGAL COMPONENT AND A MORAL AND POLITICAL COMPONENT. THAT IS TO SAY IT DEPENDS ON WHAT OUR LEGAL OBLIGATION IS AND ALSO ON THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE COUNTRY. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE LEGAL OBLIGATION INTERENT IN THIS TREATY IS NOT OF THE SAME ORDER AS THE LEGAL OBLIGATION IN THE NATO TREATY. BUT IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACH TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN IS REFLECTED IN THIS TREATY AND WOULD BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN OUR DECISIONS, WHATEVER THE LEGAL OBLIGATIONS.

Q. IN VIEW OF THE SITUATION AT PRESENT IN ANGOLA AND OF THE BLACK REACTION ABOUT IT, IS THERE, IS NATO STILL TO BE CONSIDERED INTERESTING FOR NEWCOMERS SUCH AS SPAIN OR CAN WE VIEW THE FISHERIES AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION AS A KING OF BALANCE?

(JMA) A. I MUST SAY THAT WE HAVE NEVER ASKED FOR ENTRANCE INTO NATO, BUT WHATEVER THE DECISION IS, WHEN IT COMES IT WILL BE A QUESTION TO BE DECIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT AT THAT TIME, ACCORDING TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF SPAIN. BUT I MUST ALSO ADD THAT BEFORE THIS TREATY, WITH OTHER EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS THAT WE HAVE HAD SO FAR, WE HAVE BEEN LINKED TO THE LARGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT MEMBER OF NATO, AND THEREFORE THIS UNCLASSIFIED

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CAN BE INTERPRETED AS A COUNTERPART TO THE STRATEGIC INTEREST AND AS OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRATEGIC INTEREST OF THE WHOLE WESTERN DEFENSE SYSTEM.

NOW IF YOU'RE ASKING ME ABOUT WHETHER WE'RE INTERESTED IN JOINING NATO OR NOT, I MUST ANSWER YOU THAT WE ARE INTERESTED BECAUSE I UNDERSTAND THAT NATO IS EQUIVALENT TO THE STRATEGIC AND MILITARY INFRASTRUCTURE WHICH UNDERLINES THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, OF WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO BECOME MEMBERS. AND TO FINISH I WOULD ONLY LIKE TO ADD THAT I DON'T BELIEVE THAT FISH, EVEN THOUGH IT IS FRESH FISH, SHOULD CONSTITUTE A COUNTER BALANCE OF MILITARY STRATEGY.

Q. I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS A QUESTION TO SECRETARY KISSINGER AND THAT IS WHAT ARE THE REASONS THAT HAVE LED YOU TO CHANGE THE REACHING OF AN EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT IN THE SENSE OF MAKING IT A TREATY AND ALSO TO ASK BOTH GOVERNMENTS WHAT ARE THE REASON THAT PROVIDE AN INCREASED SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPORTANCE AND ENRICHMENT TO WHAT JUST A FEW MONTHS AGO APPEARED TO BE AT VARIANCE?

(HAK) A. I HAVE ALREADY EXPLAINED OUR REASON FOR SUBMITTING IT TO THE SENATE, AS A TREATY WHICH IS TO REFLECT THE INCREASED FORMALITY AND RANGE OF THE RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS BEEN DESIGNED IN THE BACKGROUND. THE REASON ON THE AMERICAN SIDE WHY WE HAVE PROCEEDED IN THIS FASHION AFTER EXTENDED NEGOTIATIONS IS THAT IN THE NEW PERIOD THAT SPAIN IS ENTERING AND IN THE EVOLUTION THAT WE ARE ENCOURAGING, WE WANT TO REFLECT THE SYMPATHY AND MORAL SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Q. MR. SECRETARY: DOESN'T THIS TREATY INDIRECTLY LINK SPAIN WITH NATO VIA THE UNITED STATES EVEN THOUGH SPAIN IS OBVIOUSLY NOT A MEMBER OF NATO?

(HAK) A. THE TREATY PROVIDES A MECHANISM THROUGH THE COUNCIL THAT IS BEING FORMED TO PROMOTE THE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE U.S.-SPANISH EFFORT AND THE NATO EFFORT. IT THEREFORE PROVIDES A MEANS OF COORDINATION WHICH, OF COURSE, EACH INDIVIDUAL NATO COUNTRY WILL HAVE TO DECIDE FOR ITSELF AS FAR AS THE ORGANIZATION AS A WHOLE IS CONCERNED. BUT IT DOES RELLECT THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES TO UNCLASSIFIED

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THE ROLE OF SPAIN IN THE DEFENSE OF THE ATLANTIC AREA.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, IS THE TREATY SOMEHOW RELATED TO THE  
(GARBLED)

(HAK) A. THE TREATY WAS SIGNED TODAY AND IT IS COMPLETED AND IT STANDS ON ITS OWN FEET AND AS FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED, I HAVE INDICATED OUR SUPPORT FOR THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION THAT IS BEGINNING TO TAKE PLACE HERE, THAT WILL, WE HOPE, INCREASINGLY LINK SPAIN TO THOSE HUMAN AND POLITICAL VALUES ON WHICH THE UNITY OF THE WEST HAS RELIED, AND WE ARE ATTEMPTING WITH THIS TREATY TO INDICATE OUR MORAL SUPPORT FOR THESE EFFORTS.

Q. (GARBLED)

(HAK) A. THE TALKS WITH THE SPANISH LEADERS ARE STILL IN PROGRESS. THE UNITED STATES' VIEW AS TO THE DIRECTION OF THIS EVOLUTION IS CLEAR. THE PACE OF THE EVOLUTION DEPENDS ON CONDITIONS WHICH THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, IN WHICH WE HAVE CONFIDENCE, IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE THAN WE ARE.

Q. MR. MINISTER, RECENTLY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, MR. ARIAS NAVARRO, HAS REVEALED TO BOTH AMERICANS AND SPANIARDS THAT THE BASES IN SPAIN ARE CONSIDERED A PART OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF NATO, THE DETERRENT POWER OF NATO, AND HE QUALIFIED THE SITUATION AS BOTH ILLOGICAL AND UNJUST. HOW LONG DO YOU THINK THIS SITUATION IS GOING TO CONTINUE?

(JMA) A. I BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION HAS FINISHED TODAY. AND I SAY THIS BECAUSE IN THE TREATY THAT WE HAVE SIGNED THERE IS FOR THE FIRST TIME A CLAUSE WHICH MAKES A REFERENCE TO THE ORGANIC LINK BETWEEN BOTH COUNTRIES WHICH IS ONE OF THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVES TO BE REACHED BY BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN. AND THEREFORE I THINK THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH A LINK IS RECOGNIZED ALONG WITH THE LOGICAL NECESSITY TO END A SITUATION THAT PRESIDENT ARIAS QUALIFIED AS UNJUST AND ILLOGICAL.

Q. .4. SECRETARY, HAS THE POSSIBLE TRIP OF PRESIDENT FORD TO SPAIN DURING THIS YEAR BEEN DISCUSSED TODAY? AND IF NOT, UNCLASSIFIED

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DO YOU THINK IT WILL BE INTERESTING?

(HAK) A. THE CLOSE TIES BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES ALWAYS MAKE IT INTERESTING FOR AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT SPAIN. OF COURSE, PRESIDENT FORD THIS YEAR IS ENGAGED IN MANY PREOCCUPYING DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES. BUT I'M SURE HE WOULD

SYMPATHETICALLY CONSIDER AN INVITATION FOR 1977. AND IN THE MEANTIME WE LOOK FORWARD TO WELCOMING HIS MAJESTY THE KING TO THE UNITED STATES DURING THIS YEAR.

(A VOICE) THE LAST QUESTION, PLEASE.

Q. WHAT WOULD BE THE MEANING BOTH FOR THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN ON THE FACT THAT ROTA WOULD NO LONGER BE A BASE FOR NUCLEAR SUBMARINES IN 1979?

(JMA) A. IT HAS THE MEANING THAT IT HAS BEEN A SPANISH PETITION, SPECIFICALLY MADE TO THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE UNITED STATES EVEN WITH THE RISK THAT INVOLVES ITS STRATEGIC MECHANISM. I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS NOW SPECIFIED IN THE TREATY; IT IS A PETITION THAT WAS MADE BEFOREHAND AND HAS FINALLY BEEN GRANTED.

(HAK) IF I COULD DARE SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTED THE SPANISH REQUEST BECAUSE ALSO BY 1979 THE RANGE OF THE MISSILES CARRIED ON AMERICAN SUBMARINES WILL BE OF A NATURE THAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FORWARD BASE WILL BECOME MUCH LESS. END TEXT.  
STABLER UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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